United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510



February 7, 1986

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is an important letter about the Soviet 6 to 1 missile gap from our distinguished colleague Senator Jim McClure to all members of the Senate and the House of Representatives. In two key measures of comparative U.S.-Soviet military power, ICBM and IRBM warheads, Defense Department force projections show that the gaps of about 6 to 1 currently favoring the Soviet Union will continue to widen against the U.S.

Given these official DoD projections of growing Soviet strategic superiority, we are puzzled by the following two contradictory statements from Secretary Weinberger's FY 1987 Defense Posture Statement:

- 1. "...the reality of nuclear parity means reduced reliance on nuclear weapons..." (p. 13)
- 2. "...Soviet nuclear weapons are at least equal to our own, and in many dimensions superior..." (p. 40)

The two declassified Defense Department charts released by Senator McClure strongly support the fact that the Soviets already have strategic superiority, and that the Soviet strategic superiority is growing. Contradictions of this magnitude in the Defense Posture Statement, especially on the key measure of modern military power, illustrate the disarray in U.S. defense strategy and the unilateral disarmament trends afoot within the Administration.

We are also enclosing a second Dear Colleague letter from Senator McClure which shows that Soviet military superiority will be growing over the next few years in naval and conventional forces.

Indeed, the McClure naval and conventional force projection charts make another point which also completely contradicts the thrust of Defense Secretary Weinberger's FY 1987 Defense Posture Statement. Weinberger argues that while in 1980 the U.S. was inferior to the Soviets, since then we have begun to catch up. The McClure projections show, in contrast, that we are not closing most of the gaps. The irony is that the McClure charts represent the Defense Department's own projections. In sum, Weinberger's Posture Statement is contradicted by his own data. This fundamental

The President February 7, 1986 Page 2

contradiction is another example of the incoherence of Defense strategy and policy. The ultimate contradiction is this statement on page 37 of the Posture Statement:

"...we have been buying and fielding forces to implement policies and strategies over which there was little disagreement between this Administration and its predecessor."

This statement is in complete disagreement with the 1980 Republican Party Platform.

Mr. President, we are deeply concerned about this relentless Soviet military buildup and growing Soviet military superiority. We are equally concerned about the necessity for U.S. proportionate responses to over 50 Presidentially confirmed Soviet SALT and other security treaty violations. In our view, continued U.S. unilateral compliance with the unratified, expired SALT II Treaty, in particular destruction of two more perfectly operational Poseidon submarines in May 1986, is unjustifiable on military, diplomatic, national security, legal, political and economic grounds.

It makes no sense to build new nuclear weapons when we are throwing away perfectly good older weapons in order to appease the Soviet Union. We do not support unilateral disarmament or appeasement, but urge instead a policy of Peace Through Strength.

If U.S. unilateral disarmament continues in the face of confirmed and acknowledged Soviet SALT Break Out and their thrust toward greater military supremacy, the U.S. strategic modernization programs and Strategic Defense Initiative will become meaningless.

Respectfully,

Jeve Symns

Enclosures:

Two Dear Colleague Letters with U.S.-Soviet Force Projection Charts

Copies to:

Secretary of State Secretary of Defense Chairman, JCS Director, CIA Director, ACDA AMES A MCCLURE

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

January 28, 1986

Dear Senate and House Colleagues:

As Congress considers the new defense budget for Fiscal Year 1987 in the context of required spending reductions, it is useful to have a guide to where we are at the present compared to the Soviets in the key comparative military capabilities, and where we may be going in the future.

In two key measures of comparative U.S.-Soviet military power, the trends show that the gaps of about 6 to 1 and 7 to 1 currently favoring the Soviets will continue to widen against the U.S. This is clear in such crucial measures as nuclear warheads on Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) and Long Range or Intermediate Range missiles. This ominous conclusion can be drawn from the two enclosed U.S.-Soviet military force projection charts which Secretary of Defense Weinberger recently declassified at my request. These charts forecasting widening gaps go beyond what President Reagan stated recently:

"The United States is still behind the Soviet Union in virtually every kind of offensive weapon, both in conventional and in strategic weapons." (September 17, 1985)

Two sets of factors must be considered about these two comparisons, one relating to the Soviet force projection and the other the U.S. force projection. Defense Secretary Weinberger has stressed that there is a "range of uncertainty" in U.S. Intelligence estimates of current Soviet strategic forces, due to the expanding pattern of Soviet camouflage, concealment and deception, and other Soviet violations of Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties such as covert launchers, prohibited warhead fractionation, and rapid reload and refire capabilities. The historical tendency of U.S. Intelligence to underestimate Soviet strategic forces, active Soviet efforts to blind and deceive U.S. Intelligence, and especially the robust Soviet ICBM and IRBM mobile missile deployment programs now underway indicate that the current 6 to 1 and 7 to 1 gaps between Soviet forces and U.S. forces will continue to grow.

The projections of U.S. forces assume at least a 3% rate of real growth in U.S. defense spending and slightly growing force levels resulting from this minimal real funding growth. However, U.S. defense spending is more likely to be significantly cut. Moreover, the minimalist MX program of only 100 missiles assumed in the ICBM warhead force projection is optimistic, because Congress has already capped MX deployment at only 50. Finally, the comparison of long range or intermediate range warheads is somewhat unrealistic, because it assumes that U.S. Pershing II and Ground Launched Cruise Missiles already capped at only 572 launchers can be

compared to the Soviet SS-20 IRBM. But the Pershing II has one-third the range, one-third the number of warheads, and about one-thirtieth the explosive power of the SS-20.

In order to restore our seriously eroding retaliatory deterrent capacity against the Soviets, America is probably going to have to try to deploy better forces with less defense funding. Fortunately, maximizing the efficiency of defense spending has strong bipartisan support.

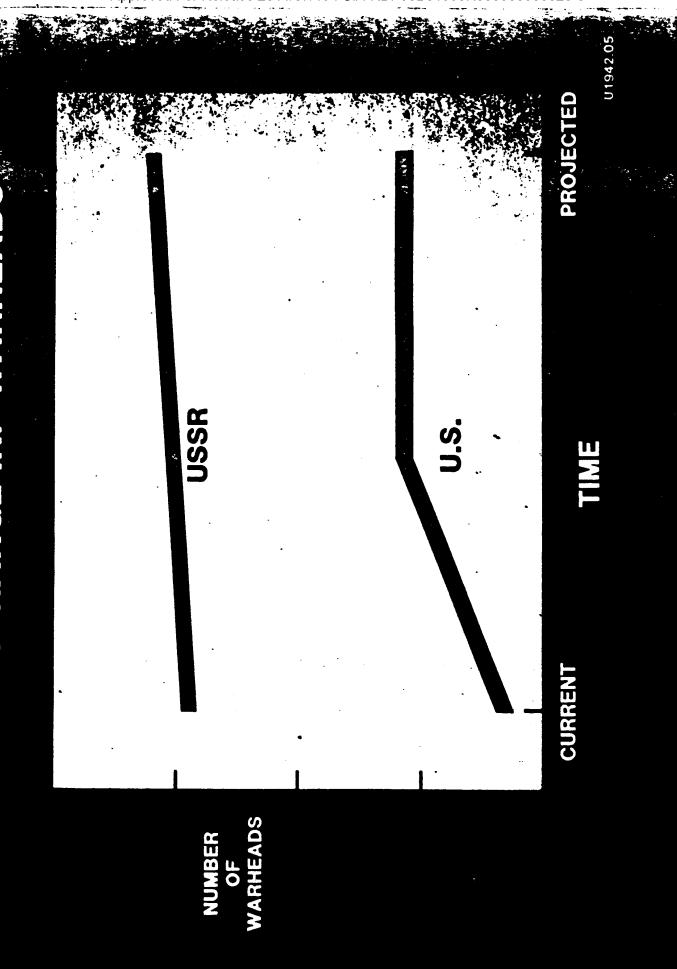
Additional recently declassified U.S.-Soviet historical armaments comparisons and force projections from the Defense Department show the same gap-widening trends for SAMs, tactical aircraft, tanks, other armored vehicles and artillery. These are available by calling Dave Sullivan, my L.A. for Defense and Foreign Affairs, on 4-6728.

Sincerely,

JAMES A. McCLURE United States Senator

enclosures:

- 1. Trends In ICBM Reentry Vehicles (Warheads)
- 2. Trends in Long Range INF Warheads



United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

February 7, 1986

Dear Senate and House Colleagues:

The most important question facing Congress in evaluating the President's FY 1987 Defense budget requests is whether or not we are restoring a military balance with the Soviet Union. The President has stated at least 8 times since 1982 that the Soviets have achieved military superiority over the United States. Are we closing the gaps of military superiority which the Soviets have opened, or are these gaps widening?

Ten charts projecting U.S.-Soviet naval, ground, tactical air and strategic forces have recently been declassified by Defense Secretary Weinberger. The gaps in favor of the Soviets are projected as widening in 5 of the 10 comparisons.

Two qualifications should be kept in mind when interpreting these projections. First, the Soviet force projection lines assume some Soviet deactivations of forces which may not occur. Second, the U.S. force projection lines assume a 3% real increase in defense spending, which may not be sustained by Congress. So as ominous as these 10 force projection charts are, they may be optimistic on both scores. All ten gaps may be widening.

Some of these projections will be included in the forthcoming Defense Department book entitled Soviet Military Power due out in late March, 1986.

Sincerely,

STEVE SYMMS

United States Senator

JAMES McCLURE

United States Senator

Enclosures:

10 Declassified Defense Department Force Projection Charts

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